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changes or readjustments, what stage of military success ever would bring the war to an end."

In an address at St. Louis, September 5, 1919, he said:

"Why, my fellow-citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred was hot, successful commercial and industrial rivalry."

On the preceding day, September 4, 1919, at Indianapolis, Ind., President Wilson said:

"If there had been nine days of discussion Germany would not have gone to war. If there had been nine days upon which to bring to bear the opinion of the world, the judgment of mankind upon the purposes of those governments, they never would have dared to execute those purposes."

The primary purpose and ultimate object of this resolution is to ascertain the opinion of the American people on the subject of engaging in a war with a foreign government except to repel invasion or attack. As the power to declare war is vested in the Congress of the United States by the Federal Constitution, it is natural and it is necessary that the Congress should be accurately informed as to how the people feel about a matter of such transcendent importance to them.

A moment's reflection will show that this only is the practicable and effective way to determine a question of such momentous seriousness, involving as it does such tragic and far-reaching consequences.

Most of the wars that have drenched the world with the blood of the most precious lives, destroyed the results of years of arduous labor, and turned back the hands on the dial of human progress would never have occurred if the peoples who were engaged in them had been consulted.

By submitting the question to the people, crooked, surreptitious diplomacy would receive its death blow. Every phase of the proposition would be discussed. Every important fact brought forth. Every reason, wise or otherwise, would naturally be advanced. The spectacle of a few irresponsible and unscrupulous diplomats conspiring behind closed doors to make pawns of peaceable people in order to gratify their commercial, material, and political ambitions would not be possible. There would be no place for clandestine intriguing, secret treaties, confidential understandings, spheres of influence, and other abominable negotiations that these may suggest and which have invariably characterized the procedures of secret diplomacy.

As this is, as the immortal Lincoln declared, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," it follows as a necessary corollary that upon a question of such vital significance the people ought to be, and it is their natural God-given right to be, consulted.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for any true American to offer any rational opposition to this proposition. It is the people who must produce the soldiers, that sacrifice their lives, bear the burden of taxation, undergo all the privations, endure all the suffering and make all the sacrifices—then why in the name of justice should they not have an opportunity to be heard in the matter?

The text of Senator Ladd's resolution follows:

Resolution

Whereas there is no question touching the life and welfare of the people of the United States of such importance as the making of peaceful relations with other governments; and

Whereas the right of the people to a voice in the settlement of all questions of even less importance is asserted in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Constitution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that no declaration of war by Congress and no act of war by the Executive branch of the Government of the United States shall be

taken except to suppress insurrection or repel invasion, as provided for by the Constitution of the United States, until the question at issue shall be submitted to a referendum of the voters of the United States.

THE HIGH COST OF KILLING

Below is a comparison of the cost of the government in the fiscal year 1916, the last before the war, and the current fiscal year, 1922, which shows something of the price paid in dollars for warfare. It will be seen, by examination of the table, that the present price of past wars, including the World War, has increased 806 per cent over 1916, while the present cost of being ready for further wars makes the army cost 214 per cent more and the navy 156 per cent.

That is not the worst of it. The totals given do not take into account any of the deficiency bills that will be passed this year, except the emergency appropriation contained in the second deficiency act for the 1921 fiscal year, which ended June 30. Exactly what the war costs will be for the year, by the time everything is paid, cannot be forecast.

But Secretary Mellon has stated to the Ways and Means Committee that he expects the army to spend in the 1922 fiscal year \$450,000,000, which is nearly \$100,000,000 more than is shown in the table of appropriations given below; and he stated that the navy was expected to spend \$487,225,000, or about \$60,000,000 more than is shown below. All of that is apart from the expected expenditure of three-quarters of a billion of dollars in this year for railroads and shipping, due almost wholly to the war.

	1916. Amount.	1922. Amount.	Increase of 1922 over 1916.	
			Per cent.	
1. Appropriations incident to past wars, including services to veterans and the public-debt service	\$186,637,760	\$1,691,406,485	806	
2. Appropriations for the army.....	113,239,050	356,121,809	214	
3. Appropriations for the navy.....	166,845,060	426,922,645	156	
I. Total for past wars and army and navy.....	466,721,870	2,474,450,939	430	
4. Appropriations for civil purposes	253,543,083	486,506,994	92	
II. Total for all purposes except the postal service..	720,264,953	2,960,957,933	311	
5. Appropriations for postal service..	306,228,453	574,092,552	87	
III. Grand total.....	\$1,026,493,406	\$3,535,050,485	244	

Comparative Statement of Appropriations for 1916 and 1922